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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to examine continuities and discontinuities in the socialization experiences of toddler-age children attending day care. Interaction between adults and children during socialization episodes was observed in home and day care settings. Parents rated their extent of agreement with the teacher regarding discipline and the extent to which they believed agreement between parent and teacher was important. Also examined was whether relationships between particular types of initiations and responses by adults and children were different in the two environments. Participating were 57 families with a child in one of four age groups: 18, 24, 30, and 36 months. A total of 32 families used centers identified as being high quality, and 25 used centers identified as being low quality. Results indicated that parents and children, and teachers and children, were engaged in negotiating a compliance episode once every 3 minutes. Socialization episodes occurred as frequently in the day care center as at home. Children made a higher percentage of negative initiations at home than in day care and a higher percentage of positive initiations in day care than at home. As compared with the home setting, a greater percentage of discipline episodes occurred in day care. Parents perceived themselves as very similar to teachers in standards for behavior and discipline. Age differences in initiation of requests and compliance were found, and continuity between home and center was found to be modified by type of center. Nine tables providing data analysis are appended. (RH)

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Continuity in Socialization Experiences in Home and in Day Care

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Continuity in socialization experiences at home and in day care

Despite a decade of research on the effect of early day care experiences on children the literature on the effects of day care attendance on the development of cooperative behaviors is contradictory (for reviews of the literature on the effects of day care attendance on child development see Belsky, Steinberg, & Walker, 1982; Clarke-Stewart,1982; Rutter,1982). Specifically Clarke-Stewart (1982) reported that the children in her sample who attended day care were more socially mature than children who did not while Finkelstein, (1982); and Rubenstein, Howes, and Boyle,(1981) reported that children who had attended day care were more non-compliant and uncooperative with adults than children who did not. One explanation for the discrepancy in these studies may be the age in which the children began attending day care. The children in Clark-Stewart's sample began as preschoolers while the children in the other two studies began as infants. Several theories of the development of the capacity to comply with adults suggest that the second and third years of life are an important period (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978; Kagan,1981; Kopp,1982). Children who attending day care during this period experience two learning environments for the development of compliance unlike the more traditional pattern in which a child experiences only one socialization environment. Perhaps it is the discontinuities in the two environments of home and day care which results in less cooperative behavior in children who begin day care before three.

The purpose of the analysis presented in this paper was to examine continuities and discontinuiies in the socialization experiences of toddler age children attending day care. Adult child

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interaction during socialization episodes was observed both at home and in day care. We expected that continuities and discontinuities might occur on three levels. Adults in the two settings might have different standards for behavior. For example parents might not expect the child to comply with their requests at home while in school teachers might expect the child to comply with directions. To examine potential discrepancies in parental and teacher expectations we asked parents to rate their extent of agreement with the teacher regarding discipline and the extent to which they believed that agreement between the parent and teacher was important.

On a second level of continuity and discontinuity we expected that parent-child dyads might engage in different kinds of behaviors during socialization episodes. For example previous observational studies of teacher and mothers have found teachers to engage in more playful interaction than mothers (Rubenstein & Howes,1979). To examine this discrepancy parent-child and teacher-child interaction during socialization episodes were observed at home and in the day care center.

Finally we examined whether or not relationships between particular types of initiations and responses by adults and children were different in the two environments. Previous work on mother child interaction (e.g. Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall,1978; Clarke-Stewart,1973) has suggested that the parent who responses in a predictable way to the child facilitates the development of a sense of security and control. If parents and teachers present different, perhaps opposing relationships between initiations and responses, the child, unaware of the relationship between an adult request and his or her own behavior, would appear uncooperative.

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Previous research on day care has been criticized for sampling only demonstration or high quality day care and neglecting the community based day care available to most families (Belsky, Steinberg, & Walker,1982). The sample reported in this study was composed entirely of community based centers. Centers were rated as high or low quality centers on the basis of their adult-child ratios, the training of their caregivers, and the continuity of their caregivers. Each of these indices of quality has been associated with variation in caregiver-child interaction and outcome variables (Cummings,1980; Howes,1983; McCartney, in press; Roupp,Travers, Glantz, & Cohen,1979).

Method

Sample

Fifty-seven families participated in this research. The following four age groups were sampled: eighteen months, twenty-four months, thirty months, and thirty-six months. Families entered the study as the child entered the age group(+/- three weeks). All measures were collected on a family during a three week period(+/-+a week). Thirty-two families used centers identified as high quality and twenty-five families used day care centers identified as low quality.

Three indices of quality were used: adult-child ratio; continuity of staff; and training of staff. High quality centers had adult-child ratios of 1 to 4 or less in the two year old and younger groups and 1 to 7 or less in the thirty and thirty-six month old group. Low quality centers had adult-child ratios of 1 to 5 or more in the two year old group and younger group and 1 to 8 or more in the thirty month and older group. High quality centers had teachers who had received formal training in child development while teachers in

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the low quality centers had no training. Children in the high quality centers had one or two primary teachers over a year while children in the low quality centers had at least three different teachers over a year period.

All day care centers serving children in the age range in a designated geographic area were contacted and agreed to participate in the study. Each center was initially visited by the project director and at least one member of the research team. On this visit the director was interviewed and the center was toured. Information on staff training was obtained from the director and later supplemented by information gathered from the teachers themselves. Initial information on adult-child ratios and teacher continiuity was supplemented by recording this information at the time each child was observed in the center. Frequent contact with the cnter for the purposes of recruiting families and conducting observations continued for a year. The final identification of quality occured only at the end of this process. Four of the eight participating centers met the criteria for high quality day care and four met the criteria for low quality day care.

Each family in the centers with a child in the age range sampled was contacted and asked to participate in the study. Eighty percent of the families contacted agreed to participate in the study. The families all lived in the same section of a large metropolitian area. Demographic characteristics of the families are presented in table one.

Insert Table 1 about here

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Procedures

Interview Parents were interviewed by one of two trained graduate students. The interview lasted about an hour and a quarter and asked a range of open and closed ended questions concerning the family's child care arrangements, and daily lives. Interviews were tape recorded and later scored by three coders, one blind to the hypotheses of the study. Intercoder agreement on the full interview was 94%.

Home observations Families were observed at home in the evening by one of three trained graduate students. The observations took place for an hour and a half in the period between the time that the family arrived home for the evening and the child was put to bed. This time of day included several naturally occurring compliance situations. All families had one or more of the following situations --- the parent needed to be left alone to make dinner, the child had to sit at the table and eat, the child had to clean up his or her activities, the child had to take a bath and/or brush teeth, the child had to go to bed.

Observers recorded in narrative fashion all episodes in which the child asked the parent to do something, the parent asked the child to do something, and the child got into trouble. Observers were trained on video tapes and in the homes of pilot families. Observers established reliability by recording the same parent-child interaction episode. The narratives were then coded for the measures discussed below. Interobserver reliability levels of at least 85% on each measure were established prior to data collection. Inter-observer reliability was re-established at three month intervals throughout the two year period of data collecton.

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Two graduate students and the first author who were blind to the sex, age, and group identiy of the families coded the narrative records for the measures discussed below. Intercoder reliabilities calculated on a randomly selected 25% of the narratives are presented with the measures in table two. Intercoder reliability for sequence was .98 for child initiated episodes, .97 for adult initiated episodes, and .99 for discipline episodes.

Day care observations Each child was observed for half an hour in the day care center. Although the same team of observers conducted the home observations, no observer collected data on the same child at home and in the center. Observations were conducted during times of transition in the day care center ----- times when the child was expected to finish up one activity, often to clean it up, and start snack or a structured group activity.

Measures, training, interobserver, and intercoder reliabilities were the same as for the home observations.

Measures

Parental perceived agreement

During the interview parents were asked to rate on a five point scale the extent of their agreement with the teachers in general, and specifically regarding discipline, and the extent to which they believed that it was important to be in agreement with the teachers.

Adult-child interaction around child compliance and adult control

The same measures of adult-child interaction were used in both the home and the daycare observations. Measures were adapted from those used by Schaffer and Crook (1980,1981), Londerville and Main

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(1981) and Lytton (1979). Narratives were segmented into episodes consisting af an intiating behavior, a response, and a resolution. Inter-coder reliability for segmenting episodes was 89% agreement. Episodes were first identified as one of three types, child initiated, adult initiated, or discipline; and then coded for the behaviors presented in table two.

Insert table two about here

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Results

Comparisons of perceived agreement

Parents of children in both types of day care preceived that they had a high degree of agreement with the teachers of their children. The median score of agreement was a 4 where 5 was always agree. Parents from both types of day care also believed that agreement with the teacher was very important. The median score for importance of agree was 5 on a scale where 5 was very important. When parents were asked specifically about discipline. Fifty-seven percent responded that their discipline standards were the same as those of the teacher. There were no differences between parents in the two types of day care.

Comparisons of socialization episodes by age, setting, and type of child care center

Descriptions of episodes

An average of 30.8 socialization episodes were recorded during the hour and a half long home observation. This means that parents and children were negotiating compliance once every three minutes. There were no differences between families using high and low quality day care in frequency of episodes. An average of 11.0 socialization episodes or one episode every 2.7 minutes were recorded during the half hour long day care observations. There were no differences between high and low quality day care centers in frequency of episodes.

Three way analyses of variance with one repeated measure (home vs center) were computed in order to compare percentages of each type of episode by age (eighteen, twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-six

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months), setting of observation (home or day care), and day care type (high and low quality). Children in the two middle age groups initiated a higher percentage of episodes than children in the youngest and oldest age groups (F (3,49)=3.30, p =.03, Scheffe=.01).

Thirty six month old children had a higher percentage of adult initiated episodes than children in the other three age groups (F (3,49)=4.91, p =.005, Scheffe=.01). Children in the three youngest age groups who were enrolled in low quality daycare centers had a higher percentage of teacher initiated episodes than children who were in the three youngest age groups and enrolled in high quality day care centers (F (3,49)=3.13, p =.03; Scheffe=.01).

Children had a higher percentage of discipline episodes at the day care center than at home (F (1,49)=4.44, p =.04. Children in the two younger groups who were enrolled in high quality day care centers had a higher percentage of discipline episodes, overall, than children in the two younger groups who were enrolled in low quality centers (F (3,49)=3.69, p =.02; Scheffe=.01).

Comparison of child initiated episodes

Initiating behaviors, adult responsive behaviors, and resolutions of child initiated episodes were compared using the three way analysis of variance with repeated measures on one factor procoedure described above. Percentages of initiating and responsive behaviors and of resolutions are presented in table 3.

Insert table 3 about here

Comparisons of child initiations Children of all ages and

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who were enrolled in both high and low quality day care centers initiated a higher percentage of episodes with negative initiations at home and a higher percentage of episodes with positive initiations in their day care center (F (1,49) = 12.10, p =.001).

Comparison of adult reponses to children's initiations

Teachers in the day care centers had higher percentages of responding to the child's initiations by participating, (F (1,49)=7.03, p =.01), and by ignoring (F (1,49)=13.44, p =.006), than did parents at home. Parents had higher percentages of responding to the child's initiation by refusing than did teachers in daycare (F (1,49) = 4.81, p =.03).

Adults in both center and home settings had a lower percentage of refusing when an eighteen month old child initiated an episode than when an older child initiated (F (3,49)=3.28, p =.03; Scheffe = .05).

Comparisons of resolutions of child initiated episodes There were no significant main effects for age, setting, or day care type nor any significant interactions for resolution of child initiated episodes.

Comparison of adult initiated episodes

Initiating behaviors, adult responsive behaviors, and resolutions of child initiated episodes were compared using the three way analysis of variance with repeated measures on one factor procedure described above. Percentages of initiating and responsive behaviors and of resolutions are presented in table 4.

Insert Table 4 about here

Comparison of adult intiating behaviors Parents who enrolled

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their child in low quality day care centers had higher percentages than any other adults of initiating episodes by making suggestions (F (3,49)=6.90, p =.01; Scheffe=.01). Teachers in low quality day care settings had higher percentages of initiating with specific instructions than parents whose children were enrolled in low quality day care but teachers and parents of children in high quality day care settings did not differ in percentage of specific instructions (F (1,49)=3.53, p =.02, Scheffe=.05). Children who were enrolled in high quality day care centers had higher percentages of adult initiations by participating in the activity than children enrolled in low quality centers (F (1,49)=8.05, p =.007).

Comparisons of children's responses to adult initiations

Children had higher percentages of complying with adult initiations at the day care center than at home (F (1,49)=11.12, p =.002). Children also had higher percentages of ignoring or refusing to comply with adult initiations at home than in the day care center (F (1,49)=6.22, p =.02).

Children had higher percentages of ignoring or refusing to comply at thirty months than at any other age period and had lower percentages of ignoring or refusing at thirty-six months than at eighteen or thirty months (F (3,49)=3.06, p =.04; Scheffe=.05).

Comparisons of resolutions of adult-initiated behavior In the high quality day care sample adult initiated episodes had higher percentages of recycling at home than in daycare (F (1,49)=8.44, p =.006; Scheffe=.01). In the low quality day care sample adult initiated episodes were as likely to recycly in day care as at home. Adult initiated episodes had higher percentages of compliance resolutions in both types of day care than at home (F (1,49) = 5.76,

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p =.02).

Comparison of discipline episodes

Adult responsive behaviors, and resolutions of discipline episodes were compared using the three way analysis of variance with repeated measures on one factor procoedure described above. Percentages of responsive behaviors and of resolutions are presented in table 5.

Insert Table 5 about here

Comparison of adult responses Children who were enrolled in high quality day care settings hac a higher percentage of their discipline episodes responded to by teacher restraint or punishment (F (1,49)=8.22, p =.006). Eighteen month old children had higher percentages of their discipline episodes responded to by adult restraint or punishment than any other age group; and thirty six month old children had a smaller percentage of their discipline episodes responded to by adult restraint or punishment than twenty four and thirty month old children (F (3,49)=4.38, p =.009; Scheffe=.01).

Comparison of resolutions Discipline episodes had higher percentages of recycling at home (F (1,49)=6.82, p =.01) and of ending with the child complying in day care (F (1,49)=3.79. p =.05). Children enrolled in high quality day care had a higher percentage of discipline episodes ending in an adult-child compromise than children in low quality day care (F (1,49)=4.49, p =.04).

Comparison of sequences in socialization episodes

Lag sequential analysis techniques were used to examine sequences in adult and child behaviors. Four independent groups;

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parent child high quality center, parent-child low quality centers, teacher-child high quality centers, and teacher-child low quality center were identified as having homogeneus sequential structures and therefore sequential analysis was done on episodes generated by each group as a whole (Gottman, 1983). In the analysis the conditional probability of a response or a resolution given a particular initiating behavior is compared to the probability of that response or resolution across all initiating behaviors. The test of comparison is a z score.

Comparison of sequences in child initiation episodes

Sequences of adult responses to differential child initiations, episode resolutions with differential initiations, and differential adult responses were examined. The conditional probabilities of these sequences and their associated z scores are presented in table 6.

Insert Table 6 about here

Parents who enrolled their child in high quality day care responded to positive child initiations by participating in the child's activity and to negative initiations by attending. Parents who enrolled their child in low quality day care also responded to positive child initiations by participating but responded to negative initiations by refusing.

Teachers in low quality day care centers responded to positive child initiations by attending and to negative initiations by refusing. Teachers in high quality day care centers did not differentially respond to child initiations.

Only in the families who enrolled their child in low quality

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day care were resolutions dependent on the nature of the child's initiation. In the families that used low quality day care a positive initiation was associated with the parent's compliance with the child's request and a negative initiation was associated with the episode recycling.

There was no relationships between adult attention and differential resolutions at home. In high quality day care centers, teacher attention to a child's initiation was associated with compromise resolutions and in low quality day care centers with teacher compliance with the child's request.

When the parent's response was to participate the most likely resolution in the families using high quality day care was a compromise; while the most likely resolution in the families using low quality day care was the parent complies with the child's request. In both types of day care centers teacher participation responses were associated with adult's compliance.

When the parent or a teacher responded by refusing the most likely resolution in all groups was a recycle of the episode. However the families using high quality day care and the child-teacher dyads in low quality day care centers were as likely to resolve the episode with a compromise as they were to resolve with recycle.

Comparison of sequences in adult initiation episodes

Sequences of child responses to differential adult initiations, and episode resolutions with differential adult initiations were also examined. The conditional probabilities of these sequences and their associated z scores are presented in table 7 .

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Insert Table 7 about here

Children enrolled in day care of both types were most likely to attend to parental suggestions initiations. Children enrolled in low quality day care were most likely to refuse when a teacher initiated with a suggestion and children enrolled in high quality day care did not respond differentially to a teacher initiating with a suggestion.

Children enrolled in high quality day care were less likely to attend when their parent initiated with specific instructions. Children enrolled in low quality daycare did not repond differentially to parental specific instructions. Children enrolled in both types of day care did not respond differentially to teacher specific instructions.

Children enrolled in low quality day care were most likely to comply when their teachers initiated by participating with them. Children in the other adult-child dyads did not differentially respond to adult participation initiations.

Teacher-child dyads in low quality day care were most likely to resolve episodes initiated by a teacher suggestion with a compromise. There were no relationships between parental initiations by suggestion in the other dyad types. Parent-child dyads were most likely to resolve episodes initiated with specific instructions with compromises. Teacher-child dyads did not differentially resolve episodes initiated with specific instructions. Families who used low quality day care were most likely to resolve episodes initiated by parental participation with compromises. Teacher-child dyads in high quality day care centers were most likely to resolve episodes

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initiated by teacher participation with recycles; while teacher-child dyads in low quality day care were most likely to resolve such episodes by child compliance with the teacher's request.

Comparison of sequences in adult discipline episodes

Sequences of episode resolutions with differential adult responses to the child getting into trouble were examined. The conditional probabilities of these sequences and their associated z scores are presented in table 8.

Insert Table 8 about here

Parental prohibition responses were most likely to result in the episode recycling in families using low quality day care. Other adult-child dyads did not differentially resolve episodes with a prohibition response. In parent-child dyads when the child was enrolled in high quality day care and in teacher- child dyads in low quality day care adult restraint or punish responses were most likely to result in child compliance. Adult ignoring or diverting responses were most likely to result in compromises in parent-child dyads when the child was enrolled in high quality day care and in teacher-child dyads in low quality day care. Teacher ignoring was significantly likely to result in recycling in low quality day care centers, but significantly unlikely to result in recycling at home in families using low quality day care.

Comparison of initiating behaviors that followed recycled episodes

The final step in the analysis was to examine the sequences of initiations following an episode recycling. Once an episode recycled

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once it usually recycled two more times (modal number of recycles in a sequence = 3, range = 1 to 14). Adult initiated edpisodes recycled more times than discipline or child initiated episodes(F (2,87)=4.69, $p<.01$. Table 9 presents the conditional probabilities and associated z scores for initiating behaviors in episodes following a recycle resolution.

Insert Table 9 about here

Children enrolled in high quality day care were most likely to initiate with a positive initiation following a recycled child initiated episode at home. Children enrolled in low quality day care were most likely to initiate with a negative initiation following a recycled child initiated episode at home. Only families that used low quality day care had sufficient numbers of child initiated episodes recycled for the third time to permit analysis. The children in these families continued the pattern of initiating with negative initiations following recycled episodes.

Children enrolled in high quality day care were most likely to initiate with a negative initiation following a recycled child initiated episode at day care. Children enrolled in low quality day care did not differentiate their initiations following a recycled child initiated episode at day care.

Parents from both family types did not differentially initiate following a single recycled adult initiated episode. Following a second recycle resolution parents of children enrolled in day care initiated with a participation initiation. Parents of children enrolled in high quality day care continued this pattern following a

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third recycle resolution.

Only teachers in low quality day care and they only after the second recycle differentiated their type of initiating behavior following an adult initiation recycle. These teachers were most likely to initiate with participate following a second recycle resolution.

Parent of children enrolled in low quality daycare were unlikely to ignore a child getting into trouble following a first recycle episode. Parents from both family types did not differentiate their initiations following a second discipline recycle.

Teachers in high quality day care centers were most likely to restrain or punish the child following a first discipline recycle and to ignore the child following a second recycle. Teachers in low quality day care did not differentiate their responds following discipline recycle resolutions.

Summary and Discussion

Children in this age period are negotiating compliance issues

Parents and children and teachers and children were engaged in negotiating a compliance socialization episode once every three minutes. These results are similar to Minton, Kagan & Levine's (1971) home observations of 27 month old children. Socialization episodes occurred as frequently in the day care center as at home. The negotiation of compliance appears to be a developmental concern of the period and is not restricted to the parent-child social context.

Children are less compliant at home than in daycare

Children's behavior at home showed little continuity with their behavior in day care. Children made a higher percentage of negative initiations at home than in day care and a higher percentage

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of positive initiations in day care than at home. Children were more likely to ignore adult requests and to recycle adult initiated episodes at home than they were in daycare. There were a greater percentage of discipline episodes in day care than at home but children were less likely to comply with the parents response to the trouble than to the teacher's response and discipline episodes were more likely to recycle at home than in day care.

These findings parallel those of Landauer, Carlsmith and Lepper(1970) who found preschool children to be less compliant to their own motheer than to other experienced adults and of Feldman and Sarnat (1974) who found children to be less compliant to mothers than to metaplots (caregivers on kibbutzim). The children may have been less pleasant with their parents than they were with their teachers because they felt sufficiently secure in the parent-child relationship to express negative feelings. Alternately the children may have simply been tired at the end of the day and thus less able to meet the socialization demands of busy parents. Several of the parents suggested that had we observed on weekend mornings the children would appear more cooperative.

Teachers and parents more similar than children

Parents perceived themselves to be very similar to the teachers in their standards for behavior and discipline and in general teachers and parents looked quite similar. The main significant difference between teacher and parent behaviors was in their response to the child's initiations. Teachers were more likely than parents to either participate with the child or to ignore the child. Parents were more likely than teachers to refuse the child. These differences suggest that the parents were more likely to engage in confrontations

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with the child than were teachers.

Adults and children behavior modified by the age of the child

Children in the two middle age groups were most likely to initiate requests to adults and thirty month old children were the most likely to ignore or refuse to comply with adult requests. These finding lend empirical support to the notion of the "terrible twos".

Adults initiated more requests to thirty -six month old children than to younger children. Adults were less likely to refuse when a eighteen month old child made a request than when older children initiated. Eighteen month old children were most likely to be restrained or punished than other age children following getting into trouble. Thus adults, both parents and teachers, were adjusting their behaviors to the age of the child.

Continuity between home and center modified by type of center

Children enrolled in high quality centers experienced a somewhat different process of socialization from both parents and teachers than children enrolled in low quality centers. When a child initiated a request in a high quality center the teacher did not respond to the form of the request but to the content. Parents who enrolled their child in a high quality center responded to a negative request of the child by attending while both parents and teachers of children enrolled in low quality centers responded to to negative requests by refusing, suggesting that the form of the request received more attention than its content. Children who attended high quality centers responded to a recycled child initiation episode by increasing their positive initiations while children who attended low quality day

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care centers responded to recycles of child initiation episodes by increasing their negative initiations.

Parents who enrolled their child in high quality centers and the teachers who taught in them were more likely than parents and teachers from low quality centers to initiate requests by participating with the child. Parents who enrolled their child in low quality center were more likely than other adults to initiate requests with suggestions rather than specific instructions. Teachers in low quality centers were more likely than other adults to initiate requests with directives or specific instructions and the least likely groups of adults to initiate by participating with the child.

Teachers in high quality day care centers were more likely than other adult to restrain or punish a child who got in trouble and to negotiate a compromise resolution to a discipline episode. These behaviors suggest a more intense involvement with the child than the behavior of teachers in the low quality day care centers who were most likely to only prohibit in response to the child in trouble.

The patterning of the behaviors of teachers and parents of the child in high quality day care suggests a high degree of adult participation in the socialization of the child, a persistence in resolving episodes, and a willingness on the part of the adults to negotiate compromises. The experience of negotiating compromises may give the child an opportunity to acquire conflict resolution skills and a sense of autonomy.

The patterning of the behaviors of the teachers and parents in the low quality center, in contrast, suggest both a lack of attentiveness to the child and an expectation that adults are to give the directions and children are to obey.

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Table one
Comparison of Demographic Characteristics of Families

Characteristic	Family groups: High quality center	Low quality center	Test of comparison
Age of child/a			ns
18 months	8	8	
24 months	8	6	
30 months	8	6	
36 months	8	5	
Sex of child/a			ns
girl	17	7	
boy	14	18	
Sibling status of child/a			ns
only	22	20	
oldest	1	2	
youngest	9	2	
Family structure/a			ns
intact	27	20	
single parent	4	5	
Occupation/b			
mother	2.8	2.3	ns
father	1.5	1.8	ns
Years of education/c			
mother	16.8	15.7	ns
father	16.0	14.6	ns
Ethnic background/a			
mother			ns
Anglo	26	21	
Hispanic/Black/Asian	6	3	
father			ns
Anglo	18	18	
Hispanic/Black/Asian	14	6	
Age/c			
mother	33.2	29.4	ns
father	35.2	33.4	ns

a/ number in each category is tabled; test of comparison is χ^2.
b/median ranking of Hollingshead scale is tabled; test of comparison is Mann Whitney U.
c/Average number is tabled; test of comparison is T-test.

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Table two

Measures of adult-child interaction

Behavior	inter-coder reliability
Child initiated episodes	
initiations	
positive - suggest an activity or object or nonverbally direct attention to the activity or object by pointing, waving, tap on the arm,etc.	.97
negative - demand an activity or object, whine or cry	.99
adult response	
attend - direct visual or verbal attention to the child or make physical contact with the child or activity	.95
participate in the child's activity	.96
refuse	.98
ignore	.91
resolution	
recycle - the child repeats the initiation	.97
adult complies with child	.97
child complies with adult's refusal	.98
compromise	.94
Adult initiated episodes	
initiation	
suggest - suggest an activity or object, verbally or nonverbally direct attention to the speaker, e.g. listen to me, tap on the shoulder, or nonverbally manipulate attention to surroundings, e.g. point	.98
specific verbal instruction regarding an activity or object	1.00
participate - manipulate accessibility by moving object or child, elicit action,e.g. throw a ball, model action, or guide the child's actions	.97
child's response	
direct's visual or verbal attention or makes physical contact	.96
complies with requested activity	.97
refuses or ignores	1.00
resolution	
recycle - adult repeats the initiation	.99
child complies	1.00
compromise	.89
adult gives in	.90
Discipline episodes	
Child in trouble	.87
adult response	
prohibit - prohibition, warning, scold, criticize	.93
punish - restraint of child, physical punishment,removes object, or power assertion, e.g. makes child sit down	.97
ignores - ignores or diverts child by being playful	.96
resolution	
recycle - child repeats trouble	.98
compliance - child stops trouble	.96
compromise	.94

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Table 3
Comparisons of Child initiated episodes /a

	Parent-child				Caregiver-child			
	high quality center		low quality center		high quality center		low quality center	
	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd
Initiations								
positive								
18 months	.30	.34	.34	.35	.48	.30	.31	.23
24 months	.44	.25	.32	.35	.41	.40	.43	.53
30 months	.29	.27	.24	.22	.45	.25	.54	.45
36 months	.30	.35	.58	.44	.50	.27	.59	.43
negative								
18 months	.70	.61	.66	.59	.52	.42	.69	.52
24 months	.56	.47	.68	.57	.59	.52	.57	.47
30 months	.71	.67	.76	.67	.55	.48	.46	.36
36 months	.70	.62	.42	.41	.50	.35	.41	.32
Adult response								
attend								
18 months	.48	.40	.55	.39	.51	.30	.48	.39
24 months	.41	.18	.34	.16	.31	.21	.19	.40
30 months	.38	.37	.48	.28	.35	.31	.21	.25
36 months	.36	.33	.27	.25	.29	.12	.37	.37
participate								
18 months	.25	.34	.22	.26	.27	.17	.38	.45
24 months	.20	.09	.31	.24	.25	.35	.49	.49
30 months	.21	.34	.18	.25	.20	.18	.54	.24
36 months	.26	.26	.37	.42	.47	.25	.34	.41
refuse								
18 months	.08	.22	.17	.30	.10	.06	.02	.05
24 months	.36	.19	.24	.36	.19	.21	.23	.18
30 months	.38	.42	.22	.19	.16	.18	.04	.06
36 months	.37	.20	.23	.13	.10	.06	.23	.33
ignore								
18 months	.05	.07	.03	.08	.14	.09	.10	.09
24 months	.07	.07	.15	.21	.27	.14	.16	.13
30 months	.03	.06	.03	.05	.19	.14	.33	.19
36 months	.01	.03	.01	.03	.17	.12	.20	.19

table continues

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Table 3 continued

Comparisons of Child initiated episodes /a

	Parent-child				Caregiver-child			
	high quality center		low quality center		high quality center		low quality center	
	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd
Resolution								
recycle								
18 months	.15	.19	.28	.35	.31	.14	.17	.21
24 months	.43	.16	.44	.19	.26	.32	.32	.14
30 months	.28	.21	.25	.24	.33	.27	.28	.22
36 months	.37	.33	.13	.19	.30	.23	.80	.26
adult comply								
18 months	.45	.40	.28	.35	.15	.09	.72	.36
24 months	.39	.23	.34	.20	.31	.32	.61	.48
30 months	.24	.22	.43	.29	.20	.14	.73	.68
36 months	.28	.25	.63	.29	.35	.31	.41	.41
child comply								
18 months	.19	.21	.32	.33	.46	.26	.06	.17
24 months	.16	.13	.43	.87	.39	.41	.06	.16
30 months	.23	.23	.14	.10	.31	.21	.19	.15
36 months	.24	.34	.13	.16	.33	.17	.32	.19
compromise								
18 months	.02	.05	.66	.20	.27	.14	.08	.14
24 months	.06	.14	.43	.62	.07	.12	.11	.19
30 months	.25	.35	.08	.11	.16	.13	.15	.14
36 months	.12	.19	.17	.24	.17	.14	.35	.15

a The proportion of each type of episode is tabled.

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Table 4

Comparison of Adult initiated episodes /a

	Parent-child				Caregiver-child			
	high quality center		low quality center		high quality center		low quality center	
	x	sd	x.	sd	x	sd	x	sd
Initiations								
suggest								
18 months	.33	.37	.41	.36	.28	.31	.14	.20
24 months	.49	.30	.41	.39	.40	.30	.08	.07
30 months	.29	.22	.40	.40	.30	.38	.20	.18
36 months	.32	.24	.60	.32	.39	.42	.05	.05
specific								
18 months	.63	.37	.47	.31	.45	.39	.62	.33
24 months	.36	.20	.42	.42	.50	.36	.89	.12
30 months	.66	.22	.63	.43	.38	.51	.42	.48
36 months	.62	.29	.43	.27	.56	.39	.55	.51
participate								
18 months	.13	.16	.13	.11	.12	.16	.16	.18
24 months	.13	.12	.03	.06	.18	.20	.03	.08
30 months	.08	.10	.03	.06	.11	.18	.03	.04
36 months	.10	.12	.03	.04	.18	.12	.05	.01
Child response								
attend								
18 months	.04	.09	.04	.05	.17	.13	.11	.12
24 months	.12	.17	.12	.16	.06	.10	.02	.04
30 months	.03	.07	.02	.05	.26	.15	.23	.15
36 months	.09	.08	.09	.09	.01	.03	.13	.14
complies								
18 months	.44	.32	.44	.19	.70	.36	.60	.32
24 months	.31	.16	.54	.32	.59	.29	.52	.43
30 months	.43	.21	.51	.22	.50	.41	.31	.27
36 months	.43	.20	.29	.21	.81	.27	.80	.34
refuses/ignores								
18 months	.53	.32	.56	.16	.23	.13	.31	.12
24 months	.35	.20	.34	.26	.36	.32	.32	.18
30 months	.53	.21	.47	.27	.45	.34	.47	.29
36 months	.41	.23	.38	.09	.12	.02	.17	.08

Table continues

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Table 4 continued

Comparison of Adult initiated episodes /a

	Parent-child				Caregiver-child			
	high quality center		low quality center		high quality center		low quality center	
	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd
Resolution								
recycle								
18 months	.29	.33	.39	.18	.09	.07	.24	.22
24 months	.49	.26	.16	.18	.28	.27	.28	.16
30 months	.39	.30	.18	.17	.06	.06	.21	.19
36 months	.48	.24	.29	.06	.13	.14	.26	.24
child comply								
18 months	.47	.31	.34	.19	.64	.41	.59	.34
24 months	.33	.19	.46	.34	.56	.31	.54	.42
30 months	.43	.21	.51	.22	.46	.43	.28	.26
36 months	.40	.23	.42	.18	.79	.29	.59	.49
compromise								
18 months	.11	.21	.02	.05	.19	.13	.27	.16
24 months	.16	.11	.10	.13	.27	.07	.00	.00
30 months	.19	.34	.12	.24	.34	.13	.25	.18
36 months	.12	.13	.12	.16	.18	.13	.15	.13
adult gives in								
18 months	.19	.37	.12	.10	.09	.08	.08	.10
24 months	.01	.04	.16	.15	.13	.15	.18	.16
30 months	.07	.09	.18	.13	.28	.13	.16	.20
36 months	.07	.12	.13	.23	.03	.04	.05	.10

a The proportion of each type of episode is tabled.

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Table 5

Comparison of discipline episodes /a

	Parent-child high quality center		Parent-child low quality center		Caregiver-child high quality center		Caregiver-child low quality center	
	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd	x	sd
adult response								
prohibit								
18 months	.77	.34	.95	.13	.80	.25	.48	.30
24 months	.67	.37	.51	.39	.72	.25	.77	.35
30 months	.89	.21	.90	.16	.67	.47	.40	.28
36 months	.67	.19	.93	.14	.84	.12	.87	.22
restrain or punish								
18 months	.43	.23	.30	.24	.52	.37	.25	.15
24 months	.24	.26	.17	.12	.29	.28	.11	.08
30 months	.20	.23	.21	.17	.06	.08	.23	.21
36 months	.20	.23	.07	.14	.23	.20	.02	.04
ignore or distracts								
18 months	.21	.16	.04	.07	.05	.05	.13	.09
24 months	.15	.21	.15	.18	.10	.07	.07	.02
30 months	.11	.17	.10	.12	.15	.15	.13	.06
36 months	.11	.09	.00	.00	.08	.09	.10	.02
Resolution								
recycle								
18 months	.49	.17	.46	.09	.14	.11	.24	.19
24 months	.36	.22	.38	.12	.23	.16	.23	.16
30 months	.36	.19	.34	.23	.23	.22	.30	.28
36 months	.58	.31	.32	.25	.41	.17	.25	.34
child comply								
18 months	.51	.17	.49	.13	.53	.24	.80	.27
24 months	.53	.24	.43	.21	.73	.28	.53	.40
30 months	.47	.24	.60	.27	.71	.42	.38	.18
36 month	.38	.33	.60	.34	.38	.22	.69	.36
compromise								
18 months	.00	.00	.09	.09	.00	.00	.03	.06
24 months	.07	.10	.10	.19	.00	.00	.20	.15
30 months	.00	.00	.06	.09	.00	.00	.06	.09
36 months	.04	.05	.08	.10	.10	.14	.00	.00

a The proportion of each type of episode is tabled.

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Table 6

Comparison of sequences in child initiated episodes

	Parent-child high quality center cond. prob.	z	low quality center cond. prob.	z	Caregiver-child high quality center cond. prob.	z	low quality center cond. prob.	z
Adult response to child's initiation								
positive								
n	73		80		39		55	
attend	.24	-6.00**	.40	.00	.38	1.16	.51	2.60*
participate	.41	6.67**	.45	9.50**	.15	.60	.25	.50
refuse	.35	-1.00	.15	-6.33	.46	1.71	.24	-2.20*
negative								
n	184		234		94		49	
attend	.76	6.00**	.69	.00	.62	-1.16	.49	-2.60
participate	.59	-6.67**	.55	-9.50**	.85	- .60	.75	.50
refuse	.65	1.00	.85	6.33**	.54	.71	.76	2.20*
Resolution								
with child's positive initiation								
recycle	.40	.33	.23	-2.00	.38	-1.25	.25	-1.50
adult comply	.33	- .67	.54	6.00**	.38	1.71	.69	1.43
compromise	.27	.40	.23	1.25	.24	.57	.07	.00
with child's negative initiation								
recycle	.60	- .33	.23	2.00*	.38	1.25	.25	1.50
adult comply	.67	.67	.54	-6.00**	.38	-1.71	.69	-1.43
compromise	.73	- .40	.23	-1.25	.24	- .57	.07	.00
with adult response attend								
n	107		124		48		39	
recycle	.36	.40	.39	.00	.19	-4.00*	.10	-3.00
adult comply	.41	.80	.32	-1.50	.25	- .50	.85	3.25*
compromise	.21	-1.00	.29	1.50	.56	5.16*	.05	- .50
with adult response participate								
n	53		82		37		39	
recycle	.19	2.60*	.00	-6.00**	.11	-4.00**	.00	-3.78*
adult comply	.66	-4.40**	.93	11.00**	.78	6.25**	.85	4.65*
compromise	.15	2.25*	.07	-3.20**	.11	1.75	.05	-1.40
with adult response refuse								
n	97		108		78		37	
recycle	.51	2.60*	.69	6.40**	.77	5.00**	.84	6.25**
adult comply	.15	-4.40**	.02	-7.20**	.12	-3.20**	.00	-7.38**
compromise	.34	2.25*	.29	1.20	.11	-2.80*	.16	2.25*

*p<.05
**p<.01

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Table 7

Comparison of sequences in adult initiated episodes

	Parent-child high quality center cond. prob.	z	Parent-child low quality center cond. prob.	z	Caregiver-child high quality center cond. prob.	z	Caregiver-child low quality center cond. prob.	z
Child responses								
to adult suggestion initiations								
n	157		254		31		39	
attend	.20	2.66*	.16	2.00*	.06	1.00	.00	-1.25
comply	.38	-1.00	.39	-1.00	.71	- .50	.41	-2.66*
refuse	.42	-1.00	.46	- .67	.32	1.43	.59	4.14**
to adult specific instructions initiations								
n	209		304		44		203	
attend	.06	-3.00**	.09	-1.50	.02	- .33	.06	.50
comply	.46	1.33	.42	.33	.75	.00	.66	.25
refuse	.48	.66	.49	.33	.23	.16	.27	-1.00
to adult participation initiations								
n	52		58		45		34	
attend	.11	- .20	.07	-1.25	.00	1.00	.00	-1.25
comply	.37	- .71	.41	.00	.80	.83	.82	2.13*
refuse	.52	.85	.52	1.33	.20	- .29	.18	-2.00*
Resolutions with adult initiations								
suggest								
recycle	.51	- .50	.31	1.00	.14	.20	.00	-1.67
comply	.36	- .25	.40	.67	.74	.72	.41	-3.43**
compromise	.13	1.50	.29	1.67	.13	.08	.59	4.14**
specific instructions								
recycle	.55	.67	.09	-8.33**	.21	.16	.07	1.00
comply	.37	.00	.42	.00	.73	.16	.66	.33
compromise	.08	-2.00*	.49	8.33**	.06	.50	.27	1.00
participation								
recycle	.54	.14	.07	-4.50**	.33	2.16*	.00	1.66
comply	.39	.29	.41	- .16	.67	- .83	.82	2.43*
compromise	.07	- .75	.52	4.67**	.00	2.67*	.18	-1.71

*p<.05

**p<.01

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Table 8

Comparison of sequences in discipline episodes

	Parent-child				Caregiver-child			
	high quality center		low quality center		high quality center		low quality center	
	cond. prob.	z	cond. prob.	z	cond. prob.	z	cond. prob.	z
Resolutions with adult responses								
prohibit								
n	163		224		63		109	
recycle	.57	.75	.48	2.00*	.46	1.33	.38	.40
comply	.40	-1.00	.45	1.67	.54	-1.33	.50	.80
compromise	.03	1.00	.07-	.50	.00	.00	.12	1.00
restrain or punish								
n	72		64		37		57	
recycle	.42	-2.00*	.31	-1.83	.19	-2.11*	.16	-3.33*
comply	.58	2.33*	.59	1.50	.81	2.11*	.84	5.00**
compromise	.00	-1.00	.10	.67	.00	.00	.00	2.50*
ignore or divert								
n	35		42		27		51	
recycle	.63	1.13	.23	-2.71*	.38	.00	.53	2.83*
comply	.31	1.63	.62	1.71	.62	.00	.47	-1.17
compromise	.06	2.00*	.14	1.50	.00	.00	.00	2.50*

*p<.05
**p<.01

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Table 9

Comparison of initiating behaviors that follow recycled episodes

	Parent-child high quality center cond. prob.	z	low quality center cond. prob.	z	Caregiver-child high quality center cond. prob.	z	low quality center cond. prob.	z
Child initiated episodes								
First recycle initiations								
positive	.41	2.17*	.10	-2.14*	.11	-2.00*	.33	-1.40
negative	.59	-2.17*	.90	2.14	.89	2.00*	.67	1.40
Second recycle initiations								
positive	-	-	.07	-2.25*	-	-	-	-
negative	-	-	.93	2.25*	-	-	-	-
Adult initiated episodes								
First recycle initiations								
suggest	.34	.80	.37	.08	.22	-1.33	.12	.33
specific	.57	1.44	.48	.14	.67	2.00*	.71	.28
participate	.10	.67	.14	1.25	.11	.85	.18	1.00
Second recycle initiations								
suggest	.33	.71	.25	-2.13	-	-	.00	-1.75
specific	.45	.71	.48	.11	-	-	.57	-1.89
participates	.22	2.00*	.25	2.00	-	-	.43	4.43**
Third recycle episode								
suggest	.29	.90	.50	.80	-	-	-	-
specific	.42	.40	.50	.10	-	-	-	-
participates	.29	2.42*	.00	-1.50	-	-	-	-
Discipline episodes								
First recycle initiations								
prohibit	.68	1.13	.81	1.88	.44	-2.14*	.70	- .83
restrain	.18	-1.50	.16	.50	.44	3.00*	.18	1.00
ignore	.14	.25	.02	-2.20*	.12	.60	.12	.00
Second recycle initiations								
prohibit	.69	1.13	.75	.70	.29	-3.00*	.71	- .66
restrain	.17	-1.43	.25	.66	.29	.33	.14	- .20
ignore	.14	.16	.00	-1.86	.42	3.88*	.14	.40

--- frequency < 30, too small for analysis

*p<.05

**p<.01

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